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THE ELECTION AND THE CANDIDATES.

GOVERNOR REEDER IN FAVOR OF FREMONT.

REASONS FOR ELECTING FREMONT AND DAYTON.

"THE POOR WHITES OF THE SOUTH."

LETTER FROM GOV. REEDER ON THE APPROACHING ELECTION.

NEW YORK CITY, September 18, 1856.

To the Editors of the Evening Post :

GENTLEMEN :—The letter of your correspondent H., and your editorial comments upon it of the 16th inst., seem, in common courtesy, to demand a reply. Your correspondent does not err in saying that I desire the success of the Republican party and the election of their candidate, and that I am ready to contribute any honorable effort to bring it about. This is not the result of any preference as to men, but in spite of it. With Colonel Fremont I am unacquainted. I have never seen him, nor had any communication with him, direct or indirect, verbal or written. On the other hand, my feelings of friendship and admiration for Mr. Buchanan, as a man, are of no ordinary character, and are strengthened by years of friendly intimacy and reciprocal acts of kindness, uninterrupted to this time by a single misunderstanding or unpleasant feeling; and I would at any time defend him promptly and indignantly against personal attacks upon his reputation. I believe him to be a man of distinguished ability, of high integrity and valuable experience. He is surrounded, too, in Pennsylvania by many political friends, whom personally I love and esteem, and to whom I am united by ties of long-cherished political and social intimacy, and the loss of whose friendship I should regard as a great calamity. For more than a quarter of a century, I have steadily labored with the Democratic party, and never doubted that I should do so during my life. For years, I have exerted myself to bring about Mr. Buchanan's nomination. In 1848 and 1852, I was one of those who carried for him the delegates of our district, and was his zealous and ardent supporter. On each occasion, I was in the National Convention as one of his delegates.

These ties are exceedingly strong and hard to sever, especially with one who is naturally of a conservative cast, and slow to change old habits of thought and action; and I have resisted for months the convictions that were urging me to my present declaration. I have diligently sought

reasons and arguments to save myself the pain of breaking up old associations and alienating myself from my old friends, but all in vain. My love of country and hatred of oppression would not allow my feelings and inclinations either to delude my judgment or still my conscience, and I am compelled to forfeit my self-respect by committing what I believe to be palpably wrong, or else enroll myself in opposition to the Democratic party.

I see no reasonable hope of justice and sympathy for the people of Kansas in the success of the Democracy. In its ranks, and with the power to control its action, are found the Border Ruffians of Missouri and their accomplices of the South, who have trampled upon the Constitution, and all the essential principles of our government, robbed Kansas of its civil liberty and right of suffrage, laid waste its territory with fire and sword, and repudiated even civilization itself.

In its platform I find the enunciation of principles which would put the rope about the necks of men for exercising the constitutional right of petitioning Congress for a State Government, or a redress of grievances far worse than those which led to the war of the Revolution, and a declaration stigmatizing as "armed resistance to law" the moderate and justifiable self-defence of men shamefully and infamously oppressed by ruffian violence and outrage, beyond all human endurance.

I find the whole party of the nation assembled in National Convention, with but one individual dissent, expressing its "unqualified admiration" of an Administration which has lent itself as the tool and accomplice of all the wrongs inflicted upon Kansas, and by its venality and imbecility brought the country to an intestine war.

I find all its representatives in Congress, with three individual exceptions, laboring with earnest zeal, by speech and vote to cover up the iniquities of this Administration and the Border Ruffians of Missouri, and to suppress a fair investigation of outrages which shock both humanity and republicanism, and defy the Constitution and the laws.

I find these same representatives, after the truth was elicited in spite of their efforts, still refusing to relieve the people from a code of laws imposed upon them by a foreign army, and still refusing to admit them into the Union, only for reasons, which, in the case of nine existing States, had been declared untenable and of no account.

I find them disregarding a Free Constitution adopted in a legal, constitutional and time-sanctioned manner, (and which no man can doubt to have reflected the will of the people,) and supporting a law to produce a substitute, which it is easy to show would have perpetuated in the State Government, the usurpation which had by force already seized upon the Government of the Territory.

I find them refusing to make appropriations for the army, unless that army is to be used to enforce a code of laws violative on their face, of the Constitution, enacted by a Legislature in violation of the laws of the United States, and imposed by foreign force upon conquered and subjugated American citizens.

I find them, in a word, steadily aiding by all their Congressional action to make a Slave State in northern latitudes, and that, too, against the will of its inhabitants.

I find that one Member, who more than any other stood out against the enslavement of his white fellow-citizens, is refused a re-nomination by the Democratic party of his district.

I find in the canvass now going on that the whole tone of their party press is in the same direction. When the first startling intelligence of the outrages in Kansas reached the States, their editors denounced the foul wrong in terms of fitting indignation. It was but a spasmodic effort, however, and in deference to the South and the prevailing sentiment of the party, they have dropped off, one after the other, until now, so far as I have been able to ascertain, there is not a Democratic paper which dares boldly to justify and defend the Free-State party, and denounce their invaders. In place of encouragement and sympathy for their outraged fellow-citizens from the North, there is little else than jeers and ridicule for their oppressed and suffering condition—misrepresentation of their motives and conduct, and a pretended incredulity of the statements and appeals which they send their brethren of the States.

I find their speakers exhibiting the same spirit—some of them ignoring the question entirely; others of them treating it with perversions, misrepresentations and false issues; and others taking openly the side of the oppressors; but no one of them advocating the cause of Kansas, or favoring her admission under the Free-State Constitution adopted by her people.

In the public demonstrations and processions of the party, I find banners and devices containing brutal insults, in response to the appeals of that people for protection against unparalleled wrongs, calculated, as no doubt they must be intended, to prepare the masses for a continued refusal of justice and protection, and a relentless persistence in outrage and oppression.

I find all the Democrats South, and a portion of the Democracy of the North, boldly repudiating

the Kansas-Nebraska Bill, by insisting that Slavery has a right to go into the Territories, in spite of Congress or the people; and that the inhabitants of the Territory have no right to pass Territorial laws to forbid it or exclude it. Democratic representatives from Pennsylvania even, in the Senate and the House, hold and proclaim these opinions; while other representatives from Pennsylvania with Democratic leaders from other States, declare themselves publicly to be non-committal upon this heresy; the inevitable tendency of which, it is easy to show, will be to prevent almost entirely the formation of any more Free States.

Having originated a movement myself, to aid our people by sending them men and money, and having prosecuted it with the strictest avoidance of party character and a studied neutrality as to the political canvass, and having earnestly asked the cooperation of men of all parties, I have failed to enlist in it, to my knowledge, a single Democrat. In the Conventions of Cleveland and Buffalo, called without distinction of party, in furtherance of this enterprise, there was no Democrat present but myself. This cannot have been from any want of generosity or of means, but only in deference to the prevailing tone and sentiment of the party which is enlisted upon the other side of the question. And not only have they abstained from aiding the movement, but in their presses and by their private influence they have endeavored to cripple and retard it by sneering at it, warning the community against it as treasonable, and declaring that the money would be misapplied, thus endeavoring to prevent contributions even from friends of the measure.

I might go on with this catalogue and enumerate other indications, if necessary, showing that the prevailing tone of the party is hostile to Kansas; but I consider it only necessary to add that what I have said relates but to the North. The South, where the great mass of the party is to be found, makes no pretension, as a whole, to the advocacy of anything but pure Border Ruffianism.

What, then, have the Free-State men of Kansas to expect from a Democratic Administration, even if presided over by Mr. Buchanan? If he could be left to act upon his own impulses, unaffected by external influences, and free from all pledges and obligations, express and implied, the case would be very different. But, unfortunately, this is not so. His election would rightfully be considered a decision against us, whatever may be his own private feelings. His offices at Washington, in Kansas and elsewhere, would necessarily, to a large extent, be filled with our enemies. His information would come through a distorted medium; and lastly, he could not aid us without having first made up his mind to be abandoned and warred upon by his own party. The South would charge him with violating his pledges, and turn upon him, with the bitterest hostility, and at least a portion of the Northern Democracy would follow their example. He would thus be left without a party to support his Administration, unless he should cast himself into the arms of the Republicans. We cannot, it seems to me, either ask or expect him to do this upon a question where party

lines are so plainly drawn before his election. Like all other men in the same situation, he must obey the party sentiment on which he is elected. That there are Democrats in Pennsylvania who are full of indignation against the conduct of the South in regard to Kansas I am well aware, and that they would use their influence to redress her wrongs I am well satisfied; but they are too few in proportion to the whole party of the Union to sustain his Administration in a war with his party. They have as yet been unable to make their opinions appear and be felt in the party, and, of course, cannot do so hereafter. I honor their good intentions, but I cannot believe in their power.

I repeat that I have been forced to these conclusions after no slight struggle with my feelings and inclinations. Should Mr. Buchanan be elected, and his administration be different from what my judgment compels me to believe, I shall give it my cordial approbation, and my feeble though willing support. As I believe now, I must regard the Democratic party as fully committed to Southern Sectionalism, toward which for some time past, it has been rapidly tending, and I quit it, well assured that my duty to my country demands at my hands this sacrifice of personal feeling.

Very truly yours,

A. H. REEDER.

SPEECH OF GOVERNOR REEDER AT NEW HAVEN.

THIS vast collection of eager and intelligent auditors is but one of the many evidences that constantly throng the land and address the senses of us all, proving the deep and increasing solicitude with which the people regard the events of which I am come to speak. This eager, anxious interest gives me hope for our country and its institutions, where I should otherwise despair of the destiny of the one, and the wisdom of the other; for it is plain that nothing can so effectually test the patriotism and self-governing power of our people as the issue which now comes from the bloody plains of Kansas. Since the War of Independence, I do not hesitate to say that no event has taken place in our history of so much importance, and requiring so much the anxious attention of every citizen, as the history of that unfortunate Territory. Our two last wars with foreign powers, our most exciting political contests, our acquisitions of territory, all pale into insignificance with the far-seeing and the right-judging man, when compared with this question and its portentous bearings upon the destiny of our country. Were not the evidence spread before us all, as if written in gigantic, vivid letters upon the heavens, it would be incredible that this model Republic is the only government in the civilized world which refuses protection to its citizens in return for the allegiance it demands of them. No tyro in law or politics is ignorant of the principle that the obligation to protect follows the authority to govern, as the shadow follows the substance, whether in the relation of parent and child, master and servant, or government and subject. Travel, if you will, over the civilized world, visit its kingdoms, its empires, and its most absolute despotisms, and then acknowledge in shame and bitter humiliation, that the government which we boast as an example to the world, as a monument of wisdom and popular liberty, is the single, solitary delinquent which faithlessly refuses protection for life and property in return for the obedience which it exacts. It is a spectacle which must make the cheek of every American burn with mortification; and until we have effaced the foul stain from our escutcheon by the most signal redress and retribution, we must cease to boast of our superiority

over the monarchies of the earth, and spare our misplaced pity for the serfs of the despot.

If the problem of self-government is only to be solved in the result of anarchy and bloodshed, in the lawless rule of the strong over the weak, and the devastation of the social structure and the domestic hearth at the pleasure of the lawless ruffian, while the government looks idly and smilingly on, and the residue of the people (so long as their own localities are exempt from the curse) in heartless selfishness refuse to recognize their obligation to interfere, then, indeed, had the problem better have remained forever unsolved in the brain of visionary philanthropy, and the blood of the Revolution have been better unshed.

But in the midst of our vaunting over the past achievements of our country in the cause of civil liberty and human rights, and while we are challenging the admiration of the world for having attained the perfection of human government, let us recur to the events and developments of a few years past, and we will find in them enough to convince us that much of our work remains unfinished; that a false security is fraught with fatal dangers, and that it becomes every patriot to address himself with deep solicitude to the signs of the times.

One of the States of this Union, with a Constitution modelled upon these of her sister States, and a frame of government such as yours, after a struggle of a few years to secure to her people civil liberty, popular sovereignty, and a safe administration of justice, is at length driven to a revolution to throw off her institutions and officers, and to save for her people civil liberty and social protection. God grant that the self-elected oligarchy, to which the people have willingly submitted as a lesser evil than the government of their own making, may result in final good!

In the Southern States, where labor, the source of all national wealth and power, is held to be dishonorable and degrading, we find freedom of speech and opinion systematically denied and repudiated, and resident citizens charged not with violation of any law, but with holding political opinions different from their neighbors, tried, not by a recognized Court, but by a public meeting, and sentenced to leave their business, their homes,

and their property, on pain of lawless violence, while the organized courts of justice are incompetent to give them redress; and in the North we find men for personal advantage to themselves willing to extend this state of society over the residue of the Union.

On the western slope of the Rocky Mountains the people in one of our Territories have demonstrated their incompetency at least, for good self-government, by founding their social structure upon principles which poison and demoralize every fountain of civilization and good order, and having united Church and State in their government, their spiritual leader and civil governor claims to rule "by divine right." Having thus placed himself upon the exploded authority claimed by emperors and kings, he repudiates allegiance to our common Constitution, and audaciously refuses to surrender his place at the call of the Federal Government. A pusillanimous President, busied only with selfish aggrandizement, succumbs to the rebellion, and this Church and State potentate by divine right is left in power over a portion of our people.

Turn, then, to the plains of Kansas, and see how these evils, small and unnoticed at first, are fearfully accelerating their speed and widening the breach which they make over the loved and idolized institutions of our country, defying and repudiating national Constitution, national laws, free speech, free press, free suffrage, self-government, civil liberty, social order, domestic security, judicial remedies, moral restraints, and all human rights except such rights as may be found in physical strength.

Horrible and stunning as this announcement is, who will dare to deny its truth? The details of this terrible outline and its effects and consequences upon men, women, and children, accustomed, like yourselves, to the securities, the protections, the restraints and the refinements of society here, plunged all unprepared into this caldron of barbarism, with the solemn pledges of this great nation in their hands, for the enjoyment of institutions such as they left behind them, I cannot undertake to depict with the most remote hope of doing them justice. It is a task far beyond my feeble powers, and I leave the picture to your imagination, with no hope, however, that you will approach the reality; as no man can have a realizing sense of the fearful scenes that rage around a people who, under the shadow of the stripes and stars and the nominal protection of the Constitution, are in a worse condition than the subjects of Austria, France or Russia.

I need scarcely tell you, however, that they have no part or lot in their own government—no laws of their own making—no officers of their own choosing—no taxes of their own levying. They are politically slaves, with no semblance of self-government left—the complete subjects of the border counties of Missouri, who dictate their laws, their institutions and their officers.

In all this is there not food for deep thought, for distressing anxiety as to the future destiny of our country? Can the true patriot or the reflecting man rest in cold apathy while the very foundations of our structure thus crumble before his eyes?

Would to God that with burning eloquence and all-potent intellect I could send a warning voice to every voter in the land, arousing him to the necessity of holding public servants to strict accountability, and of hurling from the high places of governmental power and party influence, the men who, in the blind pursuit of party prejudices or little honors for themselves, would dare to trifle with the great principles without which our Government is not worth preserving!

But to return to the people of Kansas. I have said that their condition is less tolerable than that of the serfs of Russia; and who will deny it? Both are alike without a vestige of political liberty, but the latter at least have their judicial tribunals, to which they may appeal for redress of their wrongs; while lawlessness, outrage, rapine and crime run riot over the beautiful plains of Kansas, and there is no arm of law to stay their course. On the contrary, the robbers, the house-burners, the highwaymen, the ravishers, and the murderers of Kansas, are the very men who, in horrible mockery, have made themselves the ministers of the law; and the midnight raid of a murderous banditti or a proceeding in a court of justice (God save the mark!) is, each, only a different road to reach the same result.

But let us advert to the cause of this state of things. It is not to be found in the character of the people of the Territory, for they are, as a class, far above the average of a frontier population in good conduct, refinement, and general intelligence. It is not in any preference for this anarchy, for it threatens them with almost certain pecuniary ruin, starvation, and slaughter, and is at war with all their life-long education, prejudices, and habits of life. The cause is external and has its origin in a scheme to make Kansas a Slave State by violence and force of arms, or, in other words, to force the institution of Slavery upon an unwilling people; and the machinery by which it is sought to be effected is a system of secret societies in Missouri and other Southern States. That scheme has been progressing, step by step, towards its consummation before the eyes of the government, allowed to go on unchecked and unrebuked, and each step so far attended with complete success.

The citizens of Missouri in large numbers came into our Territory, and participated in our election for the purpose of choosing a delegate to Congress. In March, 1855, they came again, some four or five thousand in number, and voted at our polls by overpowering our people. They came in military array, with leaders, banners, arms, and music, and by violence and intimidation accomplished their purpose, and elected for us a Legislature, against our will. All this you know, and you also know that this Legislature proceeded to enact laws for the Territory only fit for slaves, and which the whole power of the Government has been aiding them to rivet upon us. The startling array of facts attending the election of this body I shall not detail, as the sworn evidence of them is before the public. This was their first successful step. In preparing the infamous legislation which was to close our ballot-boxes, shut us out from republican government, and perpetuate their ill-gotten power, these robbers of the right

of suffrage, worse than the robbers of the purse or the dwelling, did not hesitate to declare, on the floor of their false and iniquitous Legislature, the shameless object of their action. They proceeded themselves to elect prosecuting officers, sheriffs, probate judges, county commissioners, and other officers, for each county. Unable, by reason of the newness of the population and their own ignorance of it, to elect justices and constables, and yet resolved that they should not be chosen by the people, they carefully provide that all county and township officers required by law shall be appointed by the county commissioners, who are elected by themselves. In attempted justification of this crime against the liberties of a whole people, these foreign masters openly declared in their legislative halls, that if they allowed our people to elect their own officers, they would be of wrong political opinions, and all the labor, money, and effort they had expended in seizing upon the government of the Territory would be lost; thus admitting that the numerical power was against them, and boldly avowing their intention to force upon this numerical majority, by foreign power, institutions and laws which were obnoxious to them.

The elections provided by Congress for Legislature and Congressional Delegates they could not entirely abolish, but they could arrange all their machinery and prescribe the qualifications of voters; and to men so void of every sense of justice and honor, so recklessly bent upon a hellish purpose, so unscrupulous as to means and so devoid of shame, this chance to abuse and prostitute power was all sufficient. The County Commissioners are vested with almost unlimited control over the elections. They fix the places where the elections are to be held, with large discretion as to the public notice, and they appoint the men to hold them, taking care to select them with special reference to the unscrupulous manner in which they are expected to perform their duties. The provisions as to fixing the places of polls shortly before the election, and as to the mode of giving notice, are so ingeniously drawn that the people can, to a large extent, be kept ignorant of places where large illegal votes may be polled. Discretion of an unheard of character is vested in the judges, test oaths are enacted to shut out Northern men, and facilities are afforded to let in foreign votes. I cannot now go into all the details of this infamous election law, but I have already shown in former speeches how admirably it was calculated to disfranchise our people, and perpetuate the usurpation that enslaved us.

The well-laid scheme goes on. With the Judiciary as their accomplice, by means of the Judges, the Marshal and the Sheriffs, they proceed, through the action of these officials, aided by the laws passed for the purpose, to proscribe all Free-State men from the jury-box, and then the Judiciary becomes their most terrible engine of tyranny. The scheme to force Slavery upon us is then seated upon our necks, beyond all remedy but revolution.

The next of these horrible developments consists of a series of atrocities, judicial, semi-judi-

cial and lawless, but all under the protection of the authorities, and intended to provoke resistance even in the most abject, so that pretext might be had for open war between the little band of Free-State men on the one side, and the hordes of Missouri and the army of the United States on the other; and calculated, if not resisted, to destroy, disorganize and enslave us beyond all redress. One of these means was to deprive the party of its leaders—men whose influence in the State gave efficiency and strength to the cause, and whose calm and prudent counsels restrained the mass of their friends from any rash exhibition of defense or retaliation, for which our enemies were but too impatiently waiting. Ridiculous indictments for treason, founded upon the infamous perversion of law and no evidence, foreshadowed, if not instigated by the special Kansas Message of the President, are found by packed grand juries, selected for the purpose, and the leaders of the party are thus arrested and confined, helpless and inactive, or driven from the Territory. Eight of our best and most efficient men, whose assistance there or here would be invaluable, were for months and until lately prisoners, upon a ridiculous charge, in the hands of our oppressors, with the army of the United States sunk to the vile and degrading task of being their jailers.

Thus you will see that every successive step has been conceived in diabolical malignity—invented with ingenuity worthy of a better cause, and being backed by the superior power of our invaders and the army of the United States, has been crowned with success. Follow them out to the end, and you will find the result always the same.

The next movement was to deprive the Free State party of their presses. Four of these are destroyed—one at Leavenworth, two at Lawrence, and one at Osawatimie—some through the agency of judicial officers, after indicting them as nuisances for proclaiming conservative Northern opinions, and allowing not even the poor privilege of a trial before a corrupt court and a packed jury; and others by foreign mobs, avowedly coming direct from the State of Missouri for the purpose. This step, too, was successful. Having thus robbed us of all our political rights, shut us out from the ballot-box, deprived us of access to all judicial remedies, stripped us of our leaders, destroyed our presses, the next step was to destroy all facilities for Northern emigration, and isolate us from our friends in the States. The hotel in Kansas City, the main landing-place of emigrants, was kept by a Northern man, and our friends on their arrival found there a hospitable roof, beneath which they could have shelter and aid while preparing to go into the Territory. Here they could daily see citizens of the Territory, and procure all the information they needed. Here they could purchase their outfit, and even leave their families free from annoyance while they selected their residence and prepared their cabins. Our oppressors saw the value of this haven to Northern emigration, and how indispensable it was in a hostile country. That it was conducted with great prudence and strict avoidance of all cause of offense could not save it. Its de-

struction was decreed as a part of the great scheme. On several occasions, mobs assembled to destroy it, and finally its proprietor, Col. S. W. Eldridge, was called upon by a committee of citizens appointed at a public meeting, and informed that he must either sell out to a Pro-Slavery man, or have his house torn down over his head. To save himself from ruin, he was obliged to sell and leave. For the same reason, the hotel at Lawrence—equally indispensable to the town and the party—was destroyed by a lawless mob, assembled principally from Missouri, by a U. S. Marshal, under judicial authority, after an illegal and ridiculous indictment of it as a public nuisance, found before it had been opened for guests, and while no one yet lived in it. The order for its destruction was issued without trial or notice to any one, and its walls were battered with cannon, its floor exploded by kegs of powder, and its splendid furniture cut into piles of kindling, by which it was finally burned to the ground.

As the by-play to this outrage, the posse of the Marshal and Sheriff were meanwhile engaged in breaking into every house in the place, except two, robbing the stores, the wardrobes, the desks, the cupboards, and the trunks of the citizens, stealing money, provisions, watches, clothing, arms, horses, cattle—everything, indeed, that this board of thieves could lay their hands upon, even down to the last quarter-eagle of a poor mechanic taken from his pocket on the street. Private dwellings were set on fire, and one, with all its furniture, books and papers, was burned to the ground, while property which they did not need, was wantonly cast into the street, and diligently destroyed. But I must forbear details, or my task is endless.

One other step in the enterprise, after having reduced our people to a disorganized mass of subjects, with no liberties, no protection for life or property, no leaders and no presses, was to deprive them of the arms which might make them dangerous even in a last desperate struggle; and accordingly the arms of our people were seized on the Missouri River—at Kansas City—on the roads in the Territory—at the sacking of Lawrence, and in the cabins of the settlers. And, finally, the only route to the Territory, by the Missouri River, is absolutely closed against Northern emigration, while parties of men from the South, and a military organization with arms and ammunition, are freely passed and aided on their way. A large portion of the letters mailed to and from the settlers of the Territory never reach their destination, and thus are they denied even the mail facilities of the country, subjected to the most odious espionage into their private affairs, and embarrassed by the loss of their correspondence.

One leading feature in the prosecution of this grand scheme of infamy to force Slavery upon an unwilling people I have yet to mention. In the Spring of 1856 some 400 or 500 men came to the Territory from the Southern cities. They had been gathered, as I am informed by credible men personally cognizant of the facts, in the true filibustering style with drum and fife and whisky, and with large promises of free living and unre-

strained license upon the plains of Kansas. They landed at Kansas City under military organization, with military leaders, and were marched in military order, fully armed, from the boat to the shore and into the Territory. The articles under which they came were publicly read to them in the hearing of a crowd of men, among whom were many of our friends. By these articles they were bound to a military organization—to vote the Pro-Slavery ticket, and fight the battles of the Pro-Slavery cause.

They marched into the Territory and went at once to living in camp, making no attempt at bona fide settlement. The first band, under Major Buford, numbered about 300, and were followed by several detachments of the same character. They had been, doubtless, sent to order, to aid in furthering the great scheme of subjugation, and they were gladly welcomed as superseding the necessity of frequent invading parties, and preventing the lull of repose and recuperation which our people enjoyed when the Missourians would return home. The few Pro-Slavery men of the Territory could not be relied on to indorse and keep up the wholesale system of outrage calculated to destroy the prosperity of the entire community. The new comers, however, were exactly fitted to their work. They had no stake in the country; they came, as they avowed, only to fight, and cared only to indulge their unbridled ferocity. Some of them were at once made Deputy Marshals. The mass of them remained in camps upon the great thoroughfares, living the life of a band of highwaymen, and supported by plunder of our citizens and contributions from Missouri. No man was allowed to travel on the most ordinary business without a written pass from a Pro Slavery leader; and the United States officials, including the Governor and the Marshal, recognized this band of freebooters and murderers by granting passes to such persons as they chose to allow the privilege of travelling upon our public highways. Murders, robberies and outrages of all kinds were their daily employment, varied by an occasional enrollment into a Marshal's or a Sheriff's posse when some act of judicial tyranny was to be performed upon the people. The bodies of murdered men upon the prairie near their camps were a common spectacle, and many a man started with his team, for provisions to feed his family, never to return. These are facts which I do not hesitate to assert on my own responsibility, and an investigation would find abundance of sworn testimony to establish them.

These outrages, unparalleled and incredible as they are, were kept up throughout the whole Spring and Summer, and our people, fearful of bringing upon themselves the irresistible numbers of an invading horde from Missouri, and the troops of the United States, with the consequent loss of supplies, and starvation for themselves and their families, submitted beyond all the expectation of friends and foes, until they saw these bloody banditti erecting in various places block-houses for the accommodation of large parties, in which they stored their plunder, and would be able to conduct their operations through the Winter. Upon one of these, com

manding the main highway of the Territory, they made an attack, and having driven out its garrison, they satisfied themselves by destroying the fort and taking the arms, many of them stolen property. Against another of these forts they asked protection from the troops of the United States, but the commander refused to believe that such a place existed, or to send a party to examine it. The people then sent an unarmed citizen peacefully to inquire the design of its occupants. The bearer of this flag of truce was basely murdered, and our people rushed to the blockhouse and destroyed it. One of the leaders of this banditti, and a former participator in the Lopez invasion of Cuba, having taken a fancy to the farm of a Free-State man, assembled a party of his men, drove out the owner, severely beaten and wounded, burnt his cabin, and erected a building to accommodate himself and his gang. The neighbors apply to the civil authorities for redress, and the consequence is that Gov. Shannon sends a party of United States Dragoons to protect the marauder in his possession. Waiting till circumstances called the troops away, a small party of Free-State men attacked the building and destroyed it, and captured the leader. With the moderation that always characterized them, they carried him to Lawrence, where he was nursed and his wounds dressed. And yet these moderate acts of self-defence and retaliation, justified and made necessary a thousand times over by the fiendish outrages and systematic persecution which preceded and caused them, are howled over by our oppressors and their depraved accomplices in the States as a reason why the whole scheme of subjugation, and despotism, and murder, and robbery, and extension of slavery by violence, should be allowed to go on without molestation or censure. The border swarms with Missouri invaders; a peaceful town is attacked by a large force and every building burned to the ground; the roads are all blockaded by armed parties to cut off succor and provisions; while the President issues his orders to the new Governor to use the army of the United States, and if need be, two regiments of militia from Kentucky and Illinois, to put down the Free State men as rebels and insurgents, with not one word of condemnation for their assailants.

The South are bent on the dedication of this fair country to Slavery. The first struggle for it took place in 1820, when they hoped that by the Slave Constitution of Missouri, they had secured the key to the whole. In the compromise which ended that struggle it became ours, and the South solemnly agreed to surrender it. In 1854 they desired to play the game over once more, and have yet another chance for its possession, and again solemnly covenanted, under the Kansas-Nebraska bill, that if that chance was given them, they would abide the test of numbers at the polls, and acquiesce in the result. Finding themselves defeated in this by a majority of Northern men on the soil, they dishonorably cast aside their second compact, and, regardless of every dictate of honesty and justice, determine to possess it by force.

I have already shown you how this plot has

progressed step by step, and always successfully; how each and every outrage perpetrated upon our people tends directly and inevitably to its accomplishment, being deliberately adopted for the purpose. No close observer can fail to see that they are all harmonious parts of one great whole, separate and progressive moves toward one preconceived end, and the man who regards them as isolated occurrences, due to the surrounding circumstances, labors under gross delusion.

Let me assure you, too, that the work is almost done—so nearly done that we can easily specify the few details that will be necessary to finish it. On the first Monday of October next they are to hold an election for Legislators, and vote "Convention" or "no Convention," and this election they have determined to carry by the same system of fraud and force. Bodies of armed men from the State of Missouri will be at the election polls. The restrictions and inventions of their Territorial election law will be in full operation—corrupt and perjured election officers will be carefully selected by the County Commissioners—the polls will be fixed in the most obnoxious places, perhaps in the camps of the Georgia and South Carolina banditti. Their armed men from Missouri at the polls, will be there according to law. Preparation to this end was made a year ago, by a law of their Territorial Legislature, which provides that on the election day there shall be a militia training throughout the whole Territory; and this will be the shallow justification with which they will meet the complaints of our people—one, it is true, which would call the blush of shame to the cheek of an honest man, but which is all-sufficient for Border-Ruffians or their apologists. Having carried a convention vote, there will be one more election for delegates to frame a Constitution, and the work is done. In the mean time the gates of the Territory will be kept shut against Northern immigrants, more bands of guerrillas, from Southern cities, will be forwarded and protected if they are needed, and the work of robbery, murder and starvation will go on in the cooped-up settlements.

The Slave Constitution thus formed will come before Congress about December, 1857, and will, of course, receive the unanimous Southern vote, notwithstanding it is stained with Northern blood, and written with the pen of tyranny, fraud and outrage. The additional votes necessary to carry it they will ask from Northern traitors, from whom they expect to purchase the base betrayal of their constituents, by the bribe of office or personal aggrandisement. The members of Congress whom you will choose at the next election will be the men who must stand this test, and I beg you now to look to it that you elect no man who, when the issue comes between the two Constitutions, will not stand firmly and truly by that which reflects the true sentiments of the people of the Territory. When we know that Northern members of the present House voted, during last winter, against every form of investigation to expose these outrages, and even after the truth was laid bare, in spite of their attempts to cover it up, voted in favor of the legality of a Legislature proven to have been elected by an armed invasion of more than four thousand Missourians—in favor

of giving a seat in the House to a man whom they knew to have been forced upon the people by the same foreign vote; who, in a word, made themselves the willing tools of the Missourians and a corrupt Executive to aid in furthering the infamous scheme of forcing Slavery upon an unwilling people, it behoves you to watch well who fill those seats in the next Congress.

Many of the most startling and iniquitous features in this plot, I have been compelled to omit for want of time to detail them, and among them, the destruction of a Free-State town by a detachment of soldiers, and the consequent dispersion and ruin of the settlers, under the authority of the Secretary of War, by an illegal and wrongful extension over it of a military reservation; the reduction of another military reservation by the same authority, to make a town for the Pro-Slavery interest; the prostitution of official power by Indian Agents for political purposes; the making of Indian Treaties before the settlement of the Territory, calculated to embarrass settlers and prevent preemption; the scheme to secure to the Pro-Slavery speculators of Missouri, to the exclusion of Northern settlers, all the choice lands of the Shawnee Reserve, and the cold-blooded murder of Gay, the Agent of the tribe, because, being a citizen of Michigan, he could not be made the tool to carry out this corrupt design; the advertisement for sale next month, by the President, of all the lands of the Delaware Reserve, when the Free-State men, impoverished, ruined and driven out, can neither pay for their claims, nor can their friends from the States go to their assistance; the following up of this advertisement, by driving out from Leavenworth men who had claims on those lands, and had the means to buy, upon the ostensible pretext that they were disobeying the laws by refusing to take arms with the invaders against their fellow-citizens, but really to enable the moneyed men of Missouri to possess their property. All these, and many other iniquities, born of hell itself, could be told to make up a tale of wrongs that would make humanity shudder, and blacken even the darkest page of the cruellest despot of the world.

But let us pass on and survey the consequences of the success of this iniquitous plot to plant Slavery in Kansas by force of arms. Does any man suppose that the loss of a State to the North, great as that misfortune would be, is the limit of these consequences? If so, let him be quickly undeceived. The whole South better understand the great stake for which they play this grand and desperate game. It is for nothing less than the permanent preponderance of political power—a struggle for the ten or twelve new States to be made from Kansas Territory, the Indian Territory, Utah and New Mexico. From the western border of Missouri to the Pacific, the distance is greater than to the City of New York, and the center of the State of Kansas, supposing it to be made of the size of Pennsylvania, will be the geographical center of the United States. Kansas Territory alone will make three States equal to Pennsylvania. Here then is half a continent at stake, and it is easily shown, as the Southern papers and the manifestoes issued from Western Missouri all insist, that the whole depends upon the fate of

Kansas. If the North cannot save the first State in the tier, with steamboat navigation to its borders, at least for the two first years, with a majority of Northern men upon the soil, and with but one Slave State intervening, and the railroads of Iowa within 300 miles, how is it possible to save the next State beyond, when two Slave States will intervene, when every emigrant going there from the North will know in advance that he goes to risk life, liberty and property to preserve his freedom of speech and opinion, and when the land travel will have been increased some 300 miles through a Border-Ruffian population. And, as a matter of course, the result will be the same with the third and fourth and fifth and sixth, each becoming more hopeless as it is more remote, until the whole tier is complete. Below these are the Indian Territory and New Mexico, which will be completely isolated from the North, guarded by the States made from Kansas and Deseret, as well as by Missouri, Arkansas and Texas. Who does not see that in this way not a square foot of these two Territories can by any possibility be saved to the North? All, all will be lost with Kansas; and this is well understood by the South, if we will not understand it here. Ten or twelve future States hang in the balance, depending upon the fate of Kansas, each with its two Senators in Congress and its members in the House, thus giving to the South a political power which will enable them to carve out the four States from Texas contemplated in the act of admission, and to prosecute their scheme of annexing Cuba and the Sandwich Islands, and, if necessary, still greater acquisitions of embryo Slave States by conquests or purchases from Mexico. Not only in Congress will this power be felt by the North, but in the electoral colleges it will control the Presidential elections and the whole patronage of the government, and thus will the system of slave representation neutralize the Republican principle, and enable the minority to rule the majority.

And how, think you, will the South use this political power? Having gained it by fraud, and violence, and crime, does any man believe they will use it with magnanimity, and justice, and forbearance? Having first trampled upon the constitutional rights of free speech, free opinion, and free suffrage, by force and violence, will they be suddenly seized with great respect for those rights in their legislation? Having shown their willingness to assail the North even when compelled to resort to palpable wrong and outrage, will they not gladly embrace the opportunity to do it in legal form? And when we know that even now they are able to corrupt our public men by the temptations of political promotion, shall we voluntarily put into their hands the means of multiplying among us ten-fold the traitors to Northern interests and free institutions?

The opening of the slave trade has long been the darling object of leading Southern politicians, and whenever they have the power to accomplish it a deluge of imported Africans will be poured upon us to depreciate and degrade American labor, and dispute the last crust with the working men of the North; while laws for the most liberal transit of slaves across the States of the North will at

once be fixed upon our National statute-book. If I were to tell you that you would live to see the day when Northern men would propose to introduce Slavery into Northern States, you would consider it, perhaps, a foolish prediction; and yet there are men in Congress whose recent course can be explained upon no other hypothesis. And I do not hesitate now to predict that when the South shall be allowed to acquire the political control of the Government in the manner I have shown they are now attempting to do, and shall be able to hold the offices of the country in their hands to offer as the bribe, there will be no want of men in the North to advocate and labor for this result; and, judging them by their past conduct, I could name in the present Congress men who would take the lead in such a movement. Already have they lent their aid to make a Slave State from Free Territory, and I insist that there is but small difference between the two. The man who would assist to make a Slave Constitution for Free Territory in northern latitudes, would not hesitate to do the same thing for a Free State. All that is needed is a sufficient consideration, and if you will hand over the great and fertile region of the West to the South, that consideration will not be wanting. Let the laboring man and the patriot of the North be warned in time.

I could go on and show you, if time served, abundance of other considerations for saving to the North these vast Western plains and future States. It is easy to prove how the glory and power of our country is to be promoted, by filling the remaining half of our continent with Northern labor, enterprise and progress, instead of decayed, and stationary, and blighted States, wasted and destroyed by Slave labor, and shunned by the free white workman; easy to prove the difference, numbered by many long years, which would elapse in the planting of a continuous line of population to unite the Atlantic States to the Pacific; easy to show how the dedication of this vast country to Southern institutions, and the exclusion of Free Labor and Northern enterprise, would retard, if it did not prevent, the great project of a Railroad to the Pacific, intended to bring through our country the trade of the Indies, and enrich it by its droppings of wealth in our Northern States and cities.

There is, however, one consideration, which, though compelled to notice briefly, I cannot omit. I hold that to the Northern States these vast Western Territories are absolutely essential. We are continually pouring off from the North an unceasing stream of surplus population, composed principally of the laboring men. This great human tide is so large that if concentrated, it would produce a State every five or six years. It has already made the great and flourishing States of Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, Iowa, and Wisconsin, which now teem with their millions of people, their splendid cities, their churches and schools, and railroads and commerce, and enterprise of all kinds, and furnish large accessions to the stream of Western emigration by which they were made. It is the great resource of the poor man of the North, whereby with the moderate savings of his labor, almost useless to him on the valuable real estate of the old States, he can lay

the sure foundations of wealth and comfort and social position. It converts thousands of poor working men into useful and respectable owners of the soil, and betters the condition of those they leave behind by depleting the walks of labor and keeping down an excess of the supply. It thus makes the laborer at home more in demand, and renders him more comfortable, more intelligent and more independent.

Slave labor and Free labor, as all men admit North and South cannot exist together. Dedicate a State to Slave labor, and Northern emigration, guided by the sure instinct of self-preservation, will shun it as it would the valley of the Upas tree. Having shut the gates of Kansas and the other future States against Northern emigration by making them Slave States, where will you turn this immense empire-building human stream? Theory and experience both demonstrate that no temptation of natural advantages or low prices will induce it to enter a Slave State. The history of Missouri alone (to say nothing of the half-populated, stationary condition of all the Southern States,) abundantly proves this. To the emigrant choosing between Missouri and Iowa, or Missouri and Illinois, the temptation of five acres for one will not take him into the former. Northern emigration, then finding no satisfactory outlet, is thrown back upon us with a recoil that will shock the frame of society. The great hope and refuge of our surplus labor is taken away—the supply exceeds the demand—all the ranks of labor become thickened, until wages depreciate and Capital becomes the master, Labor almost the slave. The whole laboring population, as in the experience of Ireland and China, unemployed, unfed, and uneducated, becomes a mass of degradation, ignorance, poverty and crime, to be supported not by the equivalent of honest labor, but through the courts, the almshouses, and the prisons.

This is no fancy picture, but the true deduction of an inevitable result from the undeniable and immutable laws of political economy. The South have no surplus emigrating population. The oldest Slave States in the Union are not half filled, and the youngest—admitted eleven years ago—has not now a population to entitle it to a single Member of Congress. They may desire this Territory for political power, or to raise the price of negroes; we need it for self-preservation. We cannot dispense with it. It was ours by the compact of 1820; ours again by the second compact of 1854, and a majority of men on the soil; and we are craven, cowering slaves if we allow it now to be snatched from our doubly-rightful grasp by violence and fraud.

It can be saved only by a change in the policy of the Government—by the defeat of that party which has indorsed, and which, as a whole, is still indorsing and sustaining the Administration which has allowed and furthered the infamous scheme I have exposed—by teaching the South a lesson of justice and good faith—by sustaining and putting in power that party whose leading feature is opposition to these outrages, and whose avowed object is the admission of Kansas as a Free State. In a word, by the defeat of that Southern sectional party, formerly the Democratic party, and by the success of their only actual op-

ponents, the Republicans. But, meantime, it is equally indispensable to sustain in the Territory the men who, stung by their wrongs, are now fighting your battles upon its soil. They are, it is true, few in number, isolated from their friends, with a numerous and powerful enemy in front, almost a famine around them, and vast empty plains, offering them naught but starvation, behind; but they are noble spirits, and worthy of the cause. They ask of you supplies to strengthen their hands. Men of warm hearts and strong arms, brave and gallant spirits by the thousand, are ready to go to their aid if you will furnish the means. With much labor we have opened and provided a route which, though slow and laborious and expensive, is the best substitute for that which the Government has allowed our enemies to close. We have an organization, at the head of which is a National Committee of men selected for all the qualities necessary to the place. They have a perfect organization, with commissary and transportation agents, and other well-matured ar-

rangements unnecessary now to explain. All the money contributed is sure to go direct to its object, in the most economical and effective manner. It is now for you to say, while you are at home in the enjoyment of social comfort, legal protection and civil liberty, to decide whether this gallant pioneer band shall be submerged, whether the light of their enterprise, and your prospects, shall go out in their own blood, or whether the cause of the North, of freedom, of justice, and of truth, shall triumph. If they fail, you must succumb and feel the grievous consequences. If they succeed, you will reap the fruits. Aid in men and money must come quickly, or it need not come at all. It is a great enterprise, and he who would aid it must give in proportion to its greatness and its exigency—not from his mere superfluity, but with the spirit of sacrifice for a cause that demands it, and with the recollection that your champions are giving, in many instances, all their worldly possessions, and the lives of themselves and those most dear to them.

THE POOR WHITES OF THE SOUTH.

"Be the sin, the dangers, and the evils of Slavery all our own. We compel, we ask, none to share them with us."
[*Letters of Gov. Hammond of S. C., to Thomas Clarkson.*]

THE number of slaveholders in the Slave States of this Union, as ascertained by the census returns of 1850, was three hundred and forty-seven thousand five hundred and twenty-five. An average of five persons and seven-tenths to a family, as assumed by the Superintendent of the census, would give 1,980,894 as the number of persons interested, as slaveholders in their own right, or by family relation. The whole number of whites in the slaveholding States being, 6,222,418, the slaveholding proportion is a fraction short of 32 per cent.

The Superintendent of the census, Professor De Bow, says of the number, 347,525, returned as slaveholders:

"The number includes slave hirers, but is exclusive of those who are interested conjointly with others in slave property. The two will about balance each other, for the whole South, and leave the slave-owners as stated."

"Where the party owns slaves in different Counties, or in different States, he will be entered more than once. This will disturb the calculation very little, being only the case among the larger properties."

The addition of those who are "slavehirers" merely, to the category of slaveowners, must, I think, swell their number much more than it is diminished by the exclusion of "those who are interested conjointly with others in slave property." Such instances of conjoint interest will occur most frequently in the family relations, already taken into the account, when we multiplied the number of slaveholders returned by five and seven-tenths. A comparison of the returns from Maryland, the District of Columbia, and Virginia, where slavehiring is much practised, with Alabama, Mississippi and Louisiana, where it is less practised, shows the following results:

Maryland, Virginia, and the District of Columbia, with 566,583 slaves, return 72,584 slaveowners. Alabama, Mississippi, and Louisiana, with 897,531 slaves, return 73,081 slaveowners. The relative excess of slaveowners returned in Virginia, Maryland and the District of Columbia, must be attributed, in part, to the inclusion of a relatively larger number of "slavehirers." Upon the whole, it may safely be concluded that at least seven-tenths of the whites in the Slave States, are not slaveowners, either in their own right, or by family relation. The number of white males in the Slave States, aged twenty-one years and upward, in 1850, was 1,490,892.

Considering that the number of 347,525, returned as slaveowners, is subject to some deductions, and considering that of the slaveowners many are females and minors, it is probable that not exceeding one-fifth of the white male adults of the Slave States own slaves.

The non-slaveholding whites of the South, being not less than seven-tenths of the whole number of whites would seem to be entitled to some inquiry into their actual condition; and especially, as they have no real political weight or consideration in the country, and little opportunity to speak for themselves. I have been for twenty years a reader of Southern papers, and a reader and hearer of Congressional debates; but in all that time, I do not recollect ever to have seen or heard these non-slaveholding whites referred to by Southern gentlemen, as constituting any part of what they call "*the South.*" When the rights of the South, or its wrongs, or its policy, or its interest, or its institutions, are spoken of, reference is always intended to the rights, wrongs, policy, interests, and institutions of the

three hundred and forty-seven thousand slaveholders. Nobody gets into Congress from the South but by their direction; nobody speaks at Washington for any Southern interest except theirs. Yet there is, at the South, quite another interest than theirs; embracing from two to three times as many white people; and, as we shall presently see, entitled to the deepest sympathy and commiseration, in view of the material, intellectual, and moral privations to which it has been subjected, the degradation to which it has already been reduced, and the still more fearful degradation with which it is threatened by the inevitable operation of existing causes and influences.

From a paper on "Domestic Manufactures in the South and West," published by M. Tarver of Missouri, in 1847, I make the following extracts:

"The free population of the South may be divided into two classes—the slaveholder and the non-slaveholder. I am not aware that the relative numbers of these two classes have ever been ascertained in any of the States; but I am satisfied that the non-slaveholders far outnumber the slaveholders—perhaps by three to one. In the more Southern portion of this region, the non-slaveholders possess, generally, but very small means, and the land which they possess is almost universally poor, and so sterile that a scanty subsistence is all that can be derived from its cultivation; and the more fertile soil, being in the possession of the slaveholder, must ever remain out of the power of those who have none.

"This state of things is a great drawback, and bears heavily upon and depresses the moral energies of the poorer classes. * * * The acquisition of a respectable position in the scale of wealth appears so difficult, that they decline the hopeless pursuit, and many of them settle down into habits of idleness, and become the almost passive subjects of all its consequences. And I lament to say that I have observed of late years that an evident deterioration is taking place in this part of the population, the younger portion of it being less educated, less industrious, and in every point of view less respectable than their ancestors. * * * It is, in an eminent degree, the interest of the slaveholder that a way to wealth and respectability should be opened to this part of the population, and that encouragement should be given to enterprise and industry; and what would be more likely to afford this encouragement than the introduction of manufactures? * * * To the slaveholding class of the population of the Southwest, the introduction of manufactures is not less interesting than to the non-slaveholding class. The former possess almost all the wealth of the country. The preservation of this wealth is a subject of the highest consideration to those who possess it."

This picture is distressing and discouraging; distressing, in that it exhibits three fourths of the whites of the South substantially destitute of property, driven upon soils so sterile that only a scanty subsistence is obtainable from them, depressed in moral energies, finding the pathway to respectability so difficult, that they decline the hopeless pursuit, ceasing to struggle, and becoming the almost passive subjects of the consequences of idleness; discouraging, in that it exhibits this great bulk of the white population growing worse instead of better, evidently deteriorating, and its younger portion less educated, less industrious, and in every point of view less respectable than their ancestors.

In the January number of 1850, of *De Bow's Review*, is an article on "*Manufactures in South Carolina*," by J. H. Taylor, of Charleston, (S. C.) from which I make the following extracts:

"There is in some quarters a natural jealousy of the slightest innovation upon established habits: and because an effort has been made to collect the poor and unemployed

white population into our new factories, fears have arisen that some evil would grow out of the introduction of such establishments among us.

"Let us, however, look at this matter with candor and calmness, and examine all its bearings before we determine that the introduction of a profitable industry will endanger our institutions. * * * The poor man has a vote as well as the rich man, and in our State the number of the former will largely overbalance the latter. So long as these poor but industrious people could see no mode of living except by a degrading operation of work with the negro upon the plantation, they were content to endure life in its most discouraging forms, satisfied they were *above* the slave, though faring often worse than he. But the progress of the world is 'onward,' and though in some sections it is slow, still it is 'onward,' and the great mass of our poor white population begin to understand that they have rights, and that they, too, are entitled to some of the sympathy which falls upon the suffering. They are fast learning that there is an almost infinite world of industry opening before them by which they can elevate themselves and their families from wretchedness and ignorance to competence and intelligence. *It is this great upheaving of our masses that we have to fear, so far as our institutions are concerned.* * * *

"The employment of the white labor which is now to a great extent contending with absolute want, will enable this part of our population to surround themselves with comforts which poverty now places beyond their reach. The active industry of a father, the careful housewifery of the mother, and the daily cash earnings of four or five children, will very soon enable each family to own a servant; thus increasing the demand for this species of property to an immense extent. * * *

"The question has often been asked, Will Southern operatives equal Northern in their ability to accomplish factory work? As a general answer, I should reply in the affirmative; but at the same time it may with justice be said they cannot at present, even in our best factories, accomplish as much as is usual in Northern mills. The habitude of our people has been to anything but close application to manual labor, and it requires time to bring the whole habits of a person into a new train."

The Italicizing in these extracts is Mr. Taylor's, and not mine.

Mr. Taylor expresses himself in a very confused and artificial way, but it is not difficult to understand what he means. He is addressing himself to the Slaveholding aristocracy, and he describes these poor whites, very much as a French philosopher would describe the *blouses* of the Faubourg St. Antoine to polite ears in the Faubourg St. Germain. The collection into towns of the poor and unemployed white population of South Carolina, had evidently given rise to some visions of social outbreak and anarchy, which Mr. Taylor feels called upon to dispel. These poor people, who were willing to be industrious if they had the opportunity to be so, but to whom no labor was offered except in degrading connection with plantation negroes, had been content to struggle on, enduring life in its most discouraging forms, contending with absolute want, and often faring worse than the negro, but yet solaced by the satisfaction that they were above the negro in some respects. But at length light was beginning to penetrate even into South Carolina, and these unhappy beings were catching a glimpse of the truth, that even they, in their depths of poverty and humiliation, had some rights and were entitled to some of the sympathy which falls upon the suffering. They were fast learning that there existed, in happier communities, modes of industry, which, if opened to them, would elevate them and their families from wretchedness and ignorance to competence and intelligence. This knowledge might occasion an upheaving of the masses, seriously threatening the social and do-

mestic institutions of South Carolina unless properly directed. If, on the contrary, these poor whites could be furnished with remunerating labor, they would place themselves in a position of comfort, and even become slave-holders themselves, thus increasing the demand for that sort of property and enhancing its security.

From an address upon the subject of manufactures in South Carolina, delivered in 1851, before the South Carolina Institute, by Wm. Gregg, Esq., I make the following extracts;

"In all other countries, and particularly manufacturing States, labor and capital are assuming an antagonistical position. Here it cannot be the case; capital will be able to control labor, even in manufactures with whites, for blacks can always be resorted to in case of need. * * * From the best estimates that I have been able to make, I put down the white people who ought to work and who do not, or who are so employed as to be wholly unproductive to the State, at one hundred and twenty-five thousand. *

* * * By this it appears that but one-fifth of the present poor whites of our States would be necessary to operate 1,000,000 spindles. * * * The appropriation annually made by our Legislature for our School Fund, every one must be aware, so far as the country is concerned, has been little better than a waste of money. * * * While we are aware that the Northern and the Eastern States find no difficulty in educating their poor, we are ready to despair of success in the matter, for even penal laws against the neglect of education would fail to bring many of our country people to send their children to school. * * * I have long been under the impression, and every day's experience has strengthened my convictions, that the evils exist in the wholly neglected condition of this class of persons. Any man who is an observer of things could hardly pass through our country without being struck by the fact that all the capital, enterprise and intelligence is employed in directing slave labor; and that the consequence is, that a large portion of our poor white people are wholly neglected, and are suffered to while away an existence in a state but one step in advance of the Indian of the forest. It is an evil of vast magnitude, and nothing but a change in public sentiment will effect its cure. These people must be brought into daily contact with the rich and intelligent—they must be stimulated to mental action, and taught to appreciate education and the comforts of civilized life; and this, we believe, may be effected only by the introduction of manufactures. * * * My experience at Graniteville has satisfied me, that unless our poor people can be brought together in villages, and some means of employment afforded them, it will be an utterly hopeless effort to undertake to educate them. * * * We have collected at that place about 800 people, and as likely looking a set of country girls as may be found—industrious and orderly people, but deplorably ignorant, three-fourths of the adults not being able to read, or to write their names. * * * With the aid of ministers of the Gospel on the spot to preach to them and lecture them on the subject, we have obtained but about 60 children for our school, of about a hundred which are in the place. We are satisfied that nothing but time and patience will enable us to bring them all out. * * * It is very clear to me, that the only means of educating and Christianizing our poor whites, will be to bring them into such villages, where they will not only become intelligent, but a thrifty and useful class in our community. * * * Notwithstanding our rule that no one can be permitted to occupy our houses who does not send all his children to school that are between the ages of 6 and 12, it was with some difficulty, at first that we could make up even a small school."

It is noticeable that Mr. Gregg, like Mr. Taylor, begins by an attempt to allay patrician jealousies excited by the idea of collecting the poor whites into masses. Mr. Gregg points out that the existence of Slavery enables capital to control white labor as well as black, by the power which it retains to substitute the latter, when the former becomes unruly.

The whole white population of South Carolina, by the census of 1850, being only 274,563, nearly

one half, according to Mr. Gregg's estimate, are substantially idle and unproductive, and would seem to have sunk into a condition but little removed from barbarism. All the capital, enterprise and intelligence of the State being employed in directing slave labor, these poor whites, wholly neglected, while away an existence but one step in advance of the Indian of the forest, never taught to appreciate education and the comforts of civilized life, deplorably ignorant, and induced with great difficulty, and only by slow degrees, to send their children to schools, do truly constitute "an evil of vast magnitude," and call loudly for some means of "educating and christianizing" them.

Gov. Hammond, in an address before the South Carolina Institute in 1850, describes these poor whites as follows:

"They obtain a precarious subsistence by occasional jobs, by hunting, by fishing, by plundering fields or folds, and too often by what is in its effects far worse—trading with slaves, and seducing them to plunder for their benefit."

Elsewhere Mr. Gregg speaks as follows:

"It is only necessary to build a manufacturing village of shanties, in a healthy location, in any part of the State, to have crowds of these people around you seeking employment at half the compensation given to operatives at the North. It is, indeed, painful to be brought in contact with such ignorance and degradation."

Is it really true that South Carolina means to dissolve this Union, if she cannot be permitted to extend further, institutions under which one-fifth of her people are savages, while another three-fifths are slaves?

In a paper published in 1852 upon the "*industrial regeneration of the South*," advocating manufactures, the Hon. J. H. Lumpkin of Georgia says:

"It is objected that these manufacturing establishments will become the hot-beds of crime. * * * But I am by no means ready to concede that our poor, degraded, half-fed, half-clothed and ignorant population—without Sabbath schools, or any other kind of instruction, mental or moral, or without any just appreciation of character—will be injured by giving them employment, which will bring them under the oversight of employers, who will inspire them with self-respect by taking an interest in their welfare."

Georgia, it seems, like South Carolina, and under the influence of the same great cause, has her poor whites, degraded, half-fed, half-clothed, without mental or moral instruction, and destitute of self-respect and of any just appreciation of character. Is it really true that Georgia means to dissolve this Union if she cannot be permitted to blast this fair continent with such a population as this?

A paper upon *cotton and cotton manufactures at the South*, by Mr. Charles T. James (United States Senator) of Rhode Island, which I find in De Bow's *Industrial Resources of the South and West*, contains statements similar, in substance, to those of Messrs. Taylor, Gregg, and Lumpkin. Mr. James's pursuits have made him acquainted with the condition of manufactures in all sections of the country, and his essays are written in a spirit of candor, and even kindness, to the South, as their publication by De Bow sufficiently proves. Mr. James says:

"This is a subject on which, though it demands attention, we should speak with delicacy. It is not to be disguised, nor can it be successfully controverted, that a degree and extent of poverty and destitution exist in the Southern States, among a certain class of people, almost unknown in the manufacturing districts of the North. The poor white man will endure the evils of pinching poverty, rather than engage in servile labor under the existing state of things, even were employment offered him, which is not general. The white female is not wanted at service, and, if she were, she would, however humble in the scale of society, consider such service a degree of degradation to which she could not condescend; and she has, therefore, no resource, but to suffer the pangs of want and wretchedness. Boys and girls, by thousands, destitute both of employment and the means of education, grow up to ignorance and poverty, and, too many of them, to vice and crime. . . . The writer knows, from personal acquaintance and observation, that poor Southern persons, male and female, are glad to avail themselves of individual efforts to procure a comfortable livelihood in any employment deemed respectable for white persons. They make applications to cotton mills where such persons are wanted, in numbers much beyond the demand for labor; and, when admitted there, they soon assume the industrious habits and decency in dress and manners of the operatives in Northern factories. A demand for labor in such establishments is all that is necessary to raise this class from want and beggary, and (too frequently) moral degradation, to a state of comfort, comparative independence, and moral and social respectability. Beside this, thousands of such would naturally come together as residents in manufacturing villages, where, with very little trouble and expense, they might receive a common school education, instead of growing up in profound ignorance."

These remarks of Mr. James are quoted and indorsed in an article upon the *Establishment of Manufactures of New Orleans*, which I find in De Bow's Review for January, 1850. The writer, whose name is not given, but who appears to be a citizen of New Orleans, says:

"At present, the sources of employment open to female (save in menial offices), are very limited; and an inability to procure suitable occupation is an evil much to be deplored, as tending in its consequences to produce demoralization."

"The superior grades of female labor may be considered such as imply a necessity for education on the part of the employee, while the menial class is generally regarded as of the lowest; and in a Slave State, this standard is 'in the lowest depths, a lower deep,' from the fact, that by association, it is a reduction of the white servant to the level of their colored fellow-menials."

The complaint of low wages and want of employment comes from every part of the South.

Mr. Steadman, of Tennessee, in a paper upon the *Extension of cotton and wool factories at the South*, says:

"In Lowell, labor is paid the fair compensation of 80 cents a day for men, and \$2 a week for women, beside board, while in Tennessee the average compensation for labor does not exceed 50 cents per day for men, and \$1 25 per week for women. Such is the wisdom of a wise division of labor."

In a speech made in Congress five or six years since, Mr. T. L. Clingman, of North Carolina, said:

"Our manufacturing establishments can obtain the raw material (cotton) at nearly two cents on the pound cheaper than the New-England establishments. Labor is likewise one hundred per cent cheaper. In the upper parts of the State, the labor of either a free man or a slave, including board, clothing, etc., can be obtained for \$110 to \$120 per annum. It will cost at least twice that sum in New-England. The difference in the cost of female labor, whether free or slave, is even greater. As we have now a population of nearly one million, we might advance to a greater extent in manufacturing, before we materially increased the wages of labor."

A Richmond (Va.) newspaper, *The Dispatch*, says:

"We will only suppose that the ready-made shoes imported into the city from the North and sold here were manufactured in Richmond. What a great addition it would be to the means of employment! How many boys and females would find means of earning their bread who are now suffering for a regular supply of the necessities of life!"

The following statistics from the Census of 1850 show the number of whites (excluding foreign-born) in certain States, and the number of white persons, excluding foreign-born, in such States, over twenty years of age, unable to read and write:

States.	Whites.	Unable to read and write.
New-England States.....	2,399,651	6,209
New-York	2,393,101	23,240
Alabama.....	419,016	38,613
Arkansas.....	160,721	16,792
Kentucky.....	780,012	64,349
Missouri.....	515,434	34,420
Virginia.....	871,847	75,965
North Carolina.....	550,463	78,226
South Carolina.....	266,055	15,580
Georgia.....	515,120	40,794
Tennessee.....	751,193	77,017

The evils which afflict the Slave States are various and complicated; but they all originate with, or are aggravated by, that fatal institution which Washington, Jefferson, Patrick Henry, and all the great men of the South of the Revolutionary epoch deplored, but which the madness of modern times hugs as a blessing.

The wages of labor are always low in countries exclusively agricultural. Industry begins to be fairly rewarded, when it is united with skill, when employments are properly divided, and when the general average of education and intelligence is raised by the facilities afforded by density of population. The grain-growing regions of Eastern Europe are tilled by serfs; it is only in Western Europe that we find industry enjoying any tolerable measure of competence, intelligence, and respectability. Agricultural countries are comparatively poor, and manufacturing and commercial countries are comparatively rich; because rude labor, even upon rich soils, is less productive than skilled labor, aided by machinery and accumulated capital. That the South is almost exclusively agricultural, results, especially in the more northerly Slave States, (which have admirable natural facilities for mining and manufacturing,) from the institution of Slavery, under which there cannot be in the organization of society that middle class, which, in Free States, is the nursery of intelligent and enterprising industry.

The whites at the South not connected with the ownership or management of slaves, constituting not far from three fourths of the whole number of whites, confined at best to the low wages of agricultural labor, and partially cut off even from this by the degradation of a companionship with black slaves, retire to the outskirts of civilization, where they lead a semi-savage life, sinking deeper and more hopelessly into barbarism with each succeeding generation. The slaveowner takes at first all the best land, and finally all the best land susceptible of regular cultivation; and

the poor whites, thrown back upon the hills and upon the sterile soils—mere squatters, without energy enough to acquire title even to the cheap lands they occupy, without roads, without schools, and at length without even a desire for education, become the miserable beings described to us by the writers whom I have quoted. In Virginia and all the old Slave States, immense tracts belonging to private owners, or abandoned for taxes, and in the Southwest, immense tracts belonging to the Government of the United States, are occupied in this way. Southern agriculture, rude and wasteful to the last degree, is not fitted to grapple with difficulties. It seizes upon rich soils and flourishes only while it is exhausting them. It knows how to raise cotton and corn, but has no flexibility, no power of adaptation to circumstances, no inventiveness. The poor white, if he cannot find bottoms whereon to raise grain, becomes a hunter upon the hills which might enrich him with flocks and herds.

In the first settlement of the new and rich soils of the Southwest, these evils were less apparent; but the downward progress is rapid and certain. First the farmer without slaves, and then the small planter, succumbs to the conquering desolation. How feelingly it is depicted in the following extract from an Address delivered a few weeks since by the Hon. C. C. Clay, jr., of Alabama:

"I can show you, with sorrow, in the older portions of Alabama, and in my native county of Madison, the sad memorials of the artless and exhausting culture of cotton. Our small planters, after taking the cream off their lands, unable to restore them by rest, manures, or otherwise, are going further West and South, in search of other virgin lands, which they may and will depose and impoverish in like manner. Our wealthier planters, with greater means and no more skill, are buying out their poorer neighbors, extending their plantations, and adding to their slave force. The wealthy few, who are able to live on smaller profits and to give their blasted fields some rest, are thus pushing off the many who are merely independent. Out of the \$29,000 annually realized from the sales of the cotton crop of Alabama, nearly all, not expended in supporting the producers, is reinvested in land and negroes. Thus the white population has decreased and the slave increased almost *pari passu* in several counties of our State. In 1825 Madison County cast about 8,000 votes; now she cannot cast exceeding 2,800. In traversing that county, one will discover numerous farm-houses, once the abode of industrious and intelligent freemen, now occupied by slaves, or tenantless, deserted and dilapidated; he will observe fields, once fertile, now unenclosed, abandoned and covered with those evil harbingers, fox-tail and broom-sedge; he will see the moss growing on the mouldering walls of once thrifty villages, and will find one's only master-grasp the whole domain; but once furnished happy homes for a dozen white families. Indeed, a country in its infancy, where fifty years ago scarce a forest tree had been felled by the ax of the pioneer, is already exhibiting the painful signs of senility and decay, apparent in Virginia and Carolina."

It is undoubtedly true that the condition of the South would be vastly ameliorated if its pursuits were more diversified, if its great facilities for mining and manufacturing were improved, and if its wasteful systems of agriculture were changed. The profits of capital would be raised, and the productiveness of labor would be enhanced. To a certain extent, perhaps, the free laborer might be benefited by the greater employment and higher wages which would result; but the same fatal, overshadowing evil which has driven him from the field, would drive him from

the workshop and the factory. *Hæret in latere lethalis arundo*. Even Mr. Gregg, from whom I have quoted above, says that "All overseers, who have experience in the matter, give the decided preference to blacks as operatives." Mr. Montgomery, in his treatise on the "Cotton Manufactures of the United States, compared with Great Britain," states that "there are several cotton factories in Tennessee operated entirely by slave labor, there not being a white man in the mill but the superintendent." The employment of slaves is common everywhere at the South, in factories and mining. The author of the "Future of the South," (De Bow's Review, vol. 10, page 146,) says that "the blacks are equally serviceable in factories as in fields."

A writer in *The Mississippian* says:

"Will not our slaves make tanners? And can they not when supplied with materials, make peg and other shoes? Cannot our slaves make plows and harrows, &c.? The New England States cannot make and send us brick and framed houses, and therefore we have learned that our slaves can make and lay bricks and perform the work of house-joiners and carpenters.—In fact, we know that in mechanical pursuits and manufacturing cotton and woollen goods they are fine laborers."

The statesmanlike Gov. Hammond, looking at the matter from a statesman's point of view, may recommend as he does, the employment of poor whites in factories, as being upon the whole, although immediately less cheap, more for the general good of the community. Men are not governed in matters of business by any such consideration as this. If slave labor is adapted to factories, as it would seem to be, and is cheaper than white labor, as it would also seem to be; it will be employed, be the consequence to the community ever so disastrous. And where it is employed at all, it will be employed exclusively, as in the Tennessee factories, from the insuperable repugnance of whites to labor side by side, and on an equality with black slaves.

The difficulty in the case is invincible. The property-holders of the South own a vigorous and serviceable body of black laborers, who can be fed for \$20 per annum and clothed for \$10 per annum; who can be kept industrious and preserved from debilitating vices by coercion, by no means inapt in the simpler arts, naturally docile, and, under any tolerable treatment, "fat and sleek;" such is the terrible, the overwhelming, the irresistible competition, to which the non-property-holding three quarters of the whites at the South are subjected, when they come into the market with their labor.

It is not wonderful that they seek escape from the nightmare which broods over them, and fly by thousands to the refuge of the Free States. The census of 1850 found 609,371 persons living in the Free States who were born in the Slave States, while only 206,638 persons born in the Free States were living in the Slave States. The number of emigrants from Free to Slave States, and from Slave to Free States, living in 1850, have been carefully collected from Table CXX. found on the 116th page of the Compendium of the Census of 1850. That table gives the nativity of the "white and free colored population," without

distinguishing the two classes; but the "free colored population" is too small, and its movement too slight to affect the substantial accuracy of the calculation. On the 115th page of this Compendium is found the following statement:

"There are now, 726,450 persons living in Slave-holding States, who are natives of non-Slave-holding States, and 232,112 persons living in non-Slave-holding States who are natives of Slave-holding States."

This is a manifest error, and I supposed at first that there was a transposition of the numbers, but upon calculation, find the true numbers to be as given in the text. It is to be observed that the white population of the Free States is double that of the Slave States, so that the per centage of Southern whites moving North is six times greater than that of Northern whites moving South.

It is to be observed also, in reference to what little emigration there is from the Free to the Slave States, that it results from the fact that the domestic institutions of the latter do not encourage the development of mercantile enterprise, mechanical skill, and general business capacity, and that the deficiency in those respects is necessarily supplied from abroad. Of *mere labor*, there is absolutely no movement from the Free to the Slave States.

Of the persons who have emigrated from the border slave States, and who were living in other States in 1850, the following table will show the numbers living in free and slave states respectively:

Emigrated from	Living in Free States.	Living in Slave States.
Delaware.....	25,182	6,783
Maryland.....	86,004	41,627
Virginia.....	182,424	204,961
Kentucky.....	143,680	107,844
Missouri.....	20,244	14,632
Total.....	402,534	375,853

If from 838,337, the entire number of emigrants from these States, we deduct one fourth part, assumed to be holders of slaves, and therefore compelled to select their residence in slave States, we have left 628,790 as the number of emigrants not holders of slaves, and therefore at liberty to select their residence in free or slave States, as they might think best. Of this number 462,534, or a fraction short of seventy-four per cent, selected the free States.

Of the persons who have emigrated from the border free States, and who were living in other States in 1850, the following table will show the numbers living in Free and Slave States, respectively:

Emigrated from	Living in Free States.	Living in Slave States.
New Jersey.....	114,511	18,418
Pennsylvania.....	366,317	53,360
Ohio.....	259,938	23,770
Indiana.....	66,141	24,730
Illinois.....	23,707	20,653
Iowa.....	3,857	1,758
Total.....	832,971	152,644

Of the emigration from the border States, it is to be observed that its direction, whether to Free or to Slave States, is less controlled by the consi-

deration of climate than is the direction of the emigration from the extreme North or the extreme South.

The following table shows the number of persons living in 1850 in Illinois, Indiana, and Missouri, who emigrated from the Slave States, excluding the border States, and excluding Arkansas, which is adjacent to Missouri:

Emigrated from	Emigrated to Illinois and Indiana.	Emigrated to Missouri.
North Carolina.....	47,026	17,003
South Carolina.....	8,231	2,919
Georgia.....	2,102	1,254
Tennessee.....	45,687	44,970
Alabama.....	1,730	2,067
Mississippi.....	777	633
Louisiana.....	701	746
Texas.....	107	248
Florida.....	44	67
Total.....	105,755	69,913

Here is an emigration involving considerable journeys, and not controlled by the consideration of immediate proximity. It is an emigration to States very similar in local position and physical characteristics. Such differences as do exist, however, in climate and productions, would incline the Southern emigrant to Missouri. Yet we find three fifths of these emigrants placing themselves voluntarily under the operation of the Ordinance of 1787. It is a fair inference and it is true, that the real wishes as well as real interests of a majority of the whites of the South are in opposition to the extension of Slavery; but it is only the minority of slaveholders, which is represented in Congress, or which has otherwise any political weight in the country.

It is unquestionable that the immigration from the South has brought into the Free States more ignorance, poverty and thriftlessness than an equal amount of the immigration from Europe. Where it forms a marked feature of the population, as in Southern Illinois, a long time must elapse before it is brought up to the general standard of intelligence and enterprise in the Free States. This remark is made in no spirit of unkindness. The whites of the South are nearly all of the Revolutionary stock. They are a fine, manly race. Their valor, attested upon a hundred battle-fields, shone untarnished and still resplendent in the last conflict of the Republic. No banner floated more defiantly amid the smoke and fire of the Valley of Mexico, than that up-borne by the inextinguishable gallantry of the sons of South Carolina. I feel for that unhappy people all the ties of kith and kin. God forbid that any avenue should be closed, by which they may escape out of the horrible pit of their bondage. If the Constitution permits the South to recapture their fugitive blacks, happily it does not permit them to recapture their fugitive whites.

It is said that no equal number of negroes were so well off, upon the whole, as the slaves of the South, and that in contrast with their native barbarism, their present lot, hard as it is, is one of improvement and comparative advancement. Even if this be true; even if three millions and a half of people of African blood have been raised in the scale of civilization; the price paid for it is too costly. An equal number of people of the



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Circassian stock have been deprived of all that constitutes civilization, and thrust down into barbarism, thus reversing the order of Providence, and sacrificing the superior to the inferior race.

It is said that an extension of the area of Slavery would add to the personal comfort of the slaves, at least for a considerable period of time. Even if this be so, our first and highest duty is to our own race, and it will be a most flagrant and inexcusable folly to permit such a sacrifice of it as we now witness in the Southern States, to be enacted over again upon the vast areas of the West. Where the two races actually coexist, the relation which may best subsist between them may afford fair matter for dispute; but it is against the clear and manifest dictates of common sense, voluntarily, willingly and with our eyes open, to subject the white man to a companionship which, under any relation, is an incumbrance and a curse.

It is for the intelligent self-interest, the Christian philanthropy of the people of this great country,

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upon regions now fair and virgin from the hands of the Creator, its train of woes, which no man can number, which no eloquence can exaggerate, and of which no invective can heighten the hideous reality. It is for the people of this great country to determine whether the further spread of a system, of which the worst fruits are not seen in wasted resources and in impoverished fields, but in a neglected and outcast people, shall be left to the accidents of latitude, of proximity, of border violence, or of the doubtful assent of embryo communities; or whether, on the other hand, it shall be stayed by an interdiction, as universal as the superiority of Good to Evil, as perpetual as the rightful authority of reason in the affairs of men, and as resistless as the embodied will of the nation.

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